

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

619 2. Hoti.—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
 [423] lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
 648 the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended
 yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were
 given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them
 of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their
 heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were con-
 demning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been
 thus ruined.

[779] When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
 614 of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before,
 after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
 173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
 614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz,
 came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the
 building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people,
 "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas"
 twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
 [167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he
 could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen
 which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem
 overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni
 Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and
 Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
 197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnich.
 Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic
 and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
 721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted
 the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-
 Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi,
 told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti
 to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro
 dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group
 ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his for-
 bears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
 ● [669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
 727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an
 exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his
 breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the
 only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra. 619
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2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Malsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes. [186
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[628]
[669] ●
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3. *Dibra*.—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji*.—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women. [186
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PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma*.—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912-13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule. 727
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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175^x protest against the parcelling out of Albanian
668 territory.

By reason of the irresistible force of this League, the European powers who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty found it advisable, as well as necessary, to modify their original decision.

Space forbids us to go into details concerning the dealings between the Albanian League and the "Young Turks," whose success was largely due to the Albanian support, 175^x which led up ultimately to the winning of 669 Albanian autonomy. At one time, the "Young Turks" attempted to disarm the northern Albanians, who, by the way, had been their main source of aid in the overthrow and dethronement of the Red Sultan. The loyal Albanians, equal to the occasion, did not bow to the apparently inevitable. In July, 1910, the Albanian chieftains met in Ferizovitch, where they decided that the crying need of the hour was autonomous administration. Insurrections followed, because of the failure of the "Young Turks" to accede to the wishes of the Albanian chieftains. Two attempts were made by the Turks to crush the Albanians; finally, they were, to all appearances, subdued,

RISE OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

but no sooner had the Turkish armies withdrawn from Albania than the invincible Shqipetars rose again and once more sent forth their cry of defiance. The Albanians were repeatedly successful in the month of May, 1912. Southern Albania joined forces with the insurgents, and together demanded autonomy and recognition as a separate government. In August of the same year, the Turkish regime surrendered to the demands of the unconquerable Albanians. 669[•] 175^x

The concessions granted by Turkey, after cessation of hostilities, were surprising. Albania was recognized as an autonomous province, constituting four Albanian vilayets, namely, Monastir, Kosova, Scutari and Janina; further, it was provided that these vilayets shall be ruled by native governors, in accordance with local customs and laws. There were many other minor concessions, but a very important one was the fact that Turkey admitted that Albania was composed of four vilayets. This was the first attempt to set a boundary line for Albania.

The Balkan question was one of the most delicate that has ever been presented to South-eastern Europe. When one reflects that, dec- 175^x

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175^x provinces were still in the hands and under the control of an irresponsible "brigandesque camarilla." This was one of the momentous problems that was to cause Prince of Wied a great deal of trouble and, later, cost the lives of thousands of innocent human beings.

- 669^x 175 Affairs in Albania had scarcely returned to normalcy when again the principality was thrown into a state of ferment and confusion by a small agrarian revolt in central Albania. The Albanian Government had the whole situation well in hand and would have been successful were it not that certain foreign newspaper correspondents sent the false alarm to Durazzo that the rebels were arriving at the gates of the city. This caused the populace to rush frantically to ships lying in the harbor, while the prince failed to gain his point in the hill country in an effort to save the city itself. By means of intrigue and duplicity, it was not long until the whole of central Albania was in a state of revolt.

While negotiations were being carried on with the rebels, it was next to impossible to bring about a state of quietness and normalcy to a populace that had so many times suffered gross betrayal. Prince of Wied found himself

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I [after the institution of the Prince of Wied as Prince
of Albania in 1913 -- Analyst]

THE ALBANIAN PRINCIPALITY

unable to staunch the stream of violence and confusion, or bring under control the forces at the bottom of the mad uproar. [669] 175^x

In the mean time, the Greeks took advantage of the situation in central Albania and completed the devastation of southern Albania, thereby violating the Treaty of Corfu. Meanwhile, to resist the incorporation of southern Albania in the new Albanian Principality, Greece instigated during February the constitution of a "Provisional Government of Autonomous Epirus," supported by Greeks masquerading as insurgents. An attempt was made through the necessary channels to expel the Greeks from southern Albania and to further strengthen the government at Durazzo. Just at this time, however, there resounded throughout the world the ominous report of the assassin's gun, which felled the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and the world war, with its dire consequences, was imminent. In this deadly and all-including conflict, the Albanian problem was forgotten.

At the end of a most troublesome six months rule, on September 3, 1914, Prince of Wied and his family embarked upon the Italian

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175^x time in maneuvering between these two charged currents, but finally he resigned, when on February 23, 1924, an unsuccessful attempt to shoot him, during a session of Parliament, was made by a fanatic student. He was succeeded by Shefqet Verlaci, who became Prime Minister, but Ahmed Bey Zogu continued to maintain his influence in the course of politics which he had initiated and directed until now.

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175^x Agitation and arguments, calculated to stir the instincts of the thoughtless masses, taken among the people, finally let loose a new revolution, which proved to be quite serious. The revolutionary movement, led by Fan Noli (Theophan Stylian Noli), Bishop of the Albanian-Orthodox Church, who managed to gain sufficient prestige to launch a revolution in June, 1924.

Ahmed Bey Zogu sought refuge in Yugoslavia.

For a time it seemed that the destiny of Albania was in the hands of Bishop Fan Noli, but fate doles out strange verdicts and Noli was unsuccessful. In his role as leader, he was looked to as the one to settle the agrarian question, but he was unable to produce results.

ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE

His fatal error, however, was in petitioning⁶⁶⁹ the League of Nations for the loan of huge¹⁷⁵ sums of money for Albania. His manner of presenting the request displayed lack of diplomacy, and many members of the League looked upon him with an eye of suspicion, while others were deeply offended at his action. The final blow came when he entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and accorded recognition to a Soviet Russian Minister with a large staff, who was to use the Albanian capital, Tirana, as a center for Soviet propaganda in Europe. Fascist Italy and conservative England frowned upon Noli's policy. They could not properly tolerate sovietism in Albania, where about ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants were land-owners, who were most reluctant to submit to any radical experiments. With the continued growth of unrest and discontent, revolt gained headway while Bishop Noli's political drama waned and he left Albania.

About three years ago, Bishop Fan Noli, so long King Zog's bitterest opponent, was ill and in poverty in the United States of America, and at the end of 1933 applied to King Zog for help. The King in his generous way sent

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwithstanding the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and [423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal 642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all 623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body
the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate
her enemies. 159
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Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the
death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was
her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and
her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres
and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie
on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a
bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were
also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted
black,¹ and everything which in any way recalled
joy or happiness was banished from the palace.
Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news
of the fall of Gardiki,² she wrote to Ali reminding
him of the oath they had sworn together over their
mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and
urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of
that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion,
"it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the
women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward
repose!" 159
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Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead,
kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of
Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, in-
duced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of
Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the
Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé 175
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¹ See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

² In 1302. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousouf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

175 Vaghia,¹ not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
 159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
 ● [669] hair of the women with every insult which she could
 heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove
 them forth with their children to the mountains,
 menacing any with a like doom who should venture
 to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath.
 The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis
 may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet
 which records, in letters of gold, the number of the
 dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of
 the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of
 Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a
hadji, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to
 lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
 788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages
 and offerings may, however, only be made when the
 expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and
 honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry
 into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor,
 that the property to be sold for this purpose had been
 taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
 175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.

159 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
 562 fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, excep-
 [152] tional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

¹ The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanase Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, *Ὁ βρυκόλας*, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of *Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη*, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

6: Lane
669

EG1 Albania EG1

/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Tshk Government, and of the main participants, see category 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301. /

7: Amery

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EG1 Albania EG1

[For an account of the Resistance movement in Albania by a British Intelligence agent assigned to the Zogist forces led by Abas Kupa, which were abandoned in 1944 in favor of the Communist-led Partisans, see category 116, entire source.]

Introduction

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of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem: he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was only twenty-five in 1920, — he soon became the strongest single influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

- 643 Tosk beys, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning
● 669 Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable
[159] skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between "conservatives" and "progressives"; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure: "By insisting on the agrarian reforms", he afterwards wrote, "I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy: by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses".¹

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania: they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

¹ Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

Introduction

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Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruja went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death in *contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instrument of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his revolution, and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

† [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution—
Analyst]

CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal
 634 trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes
 619 with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs
 were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village
 or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider
 foreign affairs.

619 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century
 • 669 the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in con-
 stant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies
 were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out
 into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on
 the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary
 assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren
 in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey.

[631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of
 Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did
 not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to
 join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,¹
 the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new

[121] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish
 garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan
 war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in
 Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad
 Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then
 Mbret (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in
 his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the
 other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly,
 generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem
 Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all
 Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of
 enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The
 decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

¹ *Some Tribal Origins etc.*, p. 120, n. 1.

published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,¹ 619
 a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. 669
 But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months
 later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were
 homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-619
 tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over 692
 a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the
 neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In
 either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to
 discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary
 rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly
 to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might
 even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of
 Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.² The Moslem tribes to the 712
 north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government,
 had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if
 they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in
 General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed
 a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days
 of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be
 at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual 619
 aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions
 are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as
 Documents IV, VII and VIII.³ In the first the tribes of Nikaj and
 Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the
 year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894,
 and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brother-
 hood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees 720
 the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain
 specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is
 extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and
 Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour.
 In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement
 from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of
 passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely
 without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

¹ See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.

² Op. cit., pp. 71, 72.

³ See Appendix, pp. 263, 265/267.